

## WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

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### Abstract

The article explores ways in which intellectual co-operation at the League of Nations [SDN] provided a space for the engagement of culturally elite women in intellectual co-operation circles in Geneva, Paris and a range of national contexts stretching across Europe, Latin America and Asia. It discusses the language of the 'international mind' and of 'moral disarmament' that built on understandings of international co-operation, underpinned by an approach to sovereignty that transcended the nation state. In addition to charting the engagement of women with the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation [ICIC] at Geneva, the article looks at the links between international women's organisations and women ICIC members and experts on ICIC sub-committees. The article uses the International Federation of University Women's [IFUW] work on the equivalence of university degrees to illustrate how transnational women's networks progressed the work of the SDN.

### Introduction

Presenting the resolution to the Assembly of the League of Nations [SDN] in 1921 that resulted in the formation of the International Committee of International Co-operation [ICIC]<sup>1</sup>, Gilbert Murray, professor of Greek at Oxford University and future chair of the ICIC,<sup>2</sup> characterised the SDN's intellectual work as 'international action with a view to the spread of the international spirit and the consciousness of human brotherhood'.<sup>3</sup> Murray did not allude to the scheme for an International Office of Education mentioned in the last paragraph of the resolution in its draft form, which had been a key aspiration of international women's organisations.<sup>4</sup> Instead, he noted that his resolution

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<sup>1</sup> *The Records of the Second Assembly, Plenary Meeting* (Geneva: The League, 1921); 309-14, quoted in David G Scanlon, *International Education: A Documentary History* (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College Columbia University, 1960), 66.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Stray, "Murray (George Gilbert Aimé (1866-1957))" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35158>, accessed 18 April 2010].

<sup>3</sup> P. Rossello, *Forerunners of the International Bureau of Education* (London: University of London Institute of Education, 1944), 58.

<sup>4</sup> Katherine Storr, "Thinking Women: International Education for Peace and Equality, 1918-30", in *Women, Education and Agency, 1600-2000* (London: Routledge, 2010), edited by Sarah Aiston, Jean Spence and Maureen Mickle, 168-87.

differed in two key respects from the original draft. It omitted the words 'and education' but included provision for women.

This article argues that the register of debate around intellectual co-operation provided a space for the active engagement of culturally elite women in intellectual co-operation circles that spanned Geneva, Paris and a range of national contexts. The article considers meanings attributed to intellectual co-operation by Virginia Gildersleeve and Alfred Zimmern. Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College New York (1911-47), was president of the International Federation of University Women [IFUW] [1924-26 and 1936-39].<sup>5</sup> Zimmern, deputy director of the SDN's Institute for Intellectual Co-operation [IIIC] in Paris (1926-30),<sup>6</sup> engaged with the IFUW to take the SDN's work of intellectual co-operation forward. The paper also discusses the engagement of women in intellectual co-operation via the ICIC, and links between the IFUW and the SDN that facilitated the work of the SDN. It concludes that the belief that civic society formed the site of democratic renewal and active citizenship underpinning some understandings of intellectual co-operation, enabled women and women's organisations to draw on a rich vein of transnational<sup>7</sup> associational life to engage with intellectual co-operation, albeit on unequal and contradictory terms.

### **Intellectual co-operation and the international mind**

The suppression of the words 'and education', and with it the aspirations of international women's organisations for an International Bureau of Education, hinged around notions of national sovereignty and self-determination. An International Bureau, collecting information about the 'progress' of education in different countries opened the League to the charge that mapping out a scheme of education would lead to 'interference' in national education systems<sup>8</sup> and so move towards the creation of a 'world state'.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve, *Many a Good Crusade* (New York: Macmillan, 1954).

<sup>6</sup> D.J. Markwell, "Zimmern, Sir Alfred Eckhard (1879-1957)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37088>, accessed 18 April 2010].

<sup>7</sup> The paper adopts a transnational approach that focuses on connectins and movements that transcend national boundaries. Desley Deacon, Penny Russell and Angela Woollacott, "Introduction" in *Transnational Lives: Biographies of Global Modernity 1700-present*, edited by Desley Deacon, Penny Russell and Angela Woollacott (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> Rossello, *Forerunners of the International Bureau of Education*, 60.

<sup>9</sup> Here I draw on Jeanne Morefield, *Covenants without Swords. Idealist Liberalism and the Spirit of Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), chapter 3, here 98ff.

The language of 'co-operation' provided an approach to sovereignty based on a world of interdependent groups that transcended the nation-state.<sup>10</sup> It linked local and global communities without denying constitutional sovereignty, or demanding further centralisation of power.<sup>11</sup> It was founded on the belief that peace could be fostered through the engagement of elites with cultural, intellectual and psychological aspects of the international order and by shaping public opinion via popular culture.<sup>12</sup>

Murray and Zimmern maintained there was a spiritual dimension to intellectual co-operation, which they saw leading to a renewed world order.<sup>13</sup> Zimmern articulated this spiritual dimension through the language of the 'international mind'. This implied the cultivation of an understanding of international affairs through reason that was not just a matter of more advanced opinions or international information. Zimmern noted, 'an international fact is no better than any other fact. We do not develop an international attitude by filling our minds with information drawn from a field outside our own country'.<sup>14</sup> Rather internationalism involved a knowledge of relations between peoples and a knowledge of the people's themselves.<sup>15</sup> The development of a particular attitude to 'meeting foreign minds, minds which work in a way unfamiliar' and to 'encounter them with joy and a sense of adventure'<sup>16</sup> was to result in 'a new spirit between the nations'.<sup>17</sup>

The term the 'international mind' was coined by the American Nicholas Murray Butler, Gildersleeve's tutor at Columbia University. He saw nations as possessing minds and consciences which were to be brought to bear on the moral problems of international relations. The

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<sup>10</sup> Here I draw on Frank Trentmann, "After the Nation-State: Citizenship, Empire and Global Co-ordination in the New Internationalism, 1914-30", in *Beyond Sovereignty. Britain, Empire and Transnationalism c1880-1950*, edited by Kevin Grant, Philippa Levine and Frank Trentmann (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007): 34-53.

<sup>11</sup> Alfred Zimmern, *The League of Nations and the Rule of Law 1918-1935* (London: Macmillan, 1936), 5.

<sup>12</sup> Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1997), 60.

<sup>13</sup> Morefield, *Covenants without Swords*.

<sup>14</sup> Alfred Zimmern, "The Development of the International Mind", in *The Problems of Peace. Lectures Delivered at the Geneva Institute of International Relations* (Geneva: Institute of International Relations, 1927), 1-17, here 2,3.

<sup>15</sup> Zimmern, *The League of Nations and the Rule of Law*, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Zimmern, "The Development of the International Mind", 4, 5.

<sup>17</sup> Alfred Zimmern, "Introductory", in *The War and Democracy*, edited by R.W.Seton-Watson, J.Dover Wilson, Alfred E.Zimmern and Arthur Greenwood (London: Macmillan, 1915), 1-17, here 17.

international mind was to be created by the development of reason over passion, which was key to seeing peoples from different nations as friends working to a common purpose.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly for Gildersleeve, the international mind was the 'the mind which accepts as normal international co-operation rather than competition, and friendly understanding rather than hostile suspicion'.<sup>19</sup> She saw some barriers to the international mind resulting from ignorance of facts and misconceptions, and many barriers as deep-rooted, and psychological. She considered 'real' international understanding to be difficult because of racial psychology which comprised different underlying ideas, traditions and values held by different peoples. In order to save mankind from the annihilation of war and to enable the nations to work together for a better world, what was needed was to 'weave webs of thought, of understanding, of friendliness, of co-operation' and 'the invisible filaments of the mind and of the spirit'.<sup>20</sup>

Gildersleeve shared Zimmern's view that co-operation implied interchange of thought and ideas, rather than uniformity of national groups.<sup>21</sup> Both Gildersleeve and Zimmern thought the international mind required an international attitude in the national mind.<sup>22</sup> Both held a psychological view of differences between national characteristics<sup>23</sup> and of the need to understand and bridge the diversity between groups. Gildersleeve celebrated differences between university women while pointing to universal aspects around reason, which drew women of different countries together. Nations were to learn to be good citizen of the world by harmonizing 'the right sort of patriotism with regard for humanity as a whole'<sup>24</sup> to counter the 'super-patriots' with their mistaken idea of patriotism and 'internationalists of the wrong sort', who despised patriotism, both of whom formed barriers to the development of the international mind.<sup>25</sup> Such views reconciled national

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<sup>18</sup> Nicholas Murray Butler, *The International Mind: An Argument for the Juridical Settlements of International Disputes* (New York: Shares Scribner's Sons, 1913), 102, x.

<sup>19</sup> Virginia Gildersleeve, "The Creation of the International Mind", 1931-32, mss, Columbia University.

<sup>20</sup> Gildersleeve, "The Creation of the International Mind".

<sup>21</sup> Alfred Zimmern, "The Promotion of Intellectual Cooperation", IFUW, *Occasional Paper no VI*, April 1927, 7.

<sup>22</sup> Zimmern, "The Development of the International Mind", 1.

<sup>23</sup> For psychological differences around nationality see Glenda Slugga, *The Nation, Psychology and International Politics, 1870-1919* (Basingstoke; Palgrave, 2006).

<sup>24</sup> IFUW. *Christiania Conference, 1924*, 4.

<sup>25</sup> Gildersleeve, "The Creation of the International Mind".

interests with a universal vision of global society and called for a society that transcended class and racial differences while insisting on those differences in the name of diversity.<sup>26</sup>

By 1931-2 Gildersleeve equated the creation of the international mind with 'moral disarmament'.<sup>27</sup> This mirrored developments at the SDN, where international intellectual co-operation was increasingly defined in overtly political terms. At its plenary session in 1932, the ICIC noted that the work of intellectual co-operation was directed entirely towards so-called moral disarmament. The collaboration between the IIIC and the Moral Disarmament Committee, constituted within the framework of the Political Committee of the Conference on Limitation and Reduction of Armaments, resulted in the preparation of a draft text to establish international rules concerning teaching, collaborations between intellectual circles around teacher education and text books, as well as forms of dissemination such as the theatre, broadcasting and films. A close connection was posited between material and moral disarmament and it was hoped that this might form part of a future Disarmament Convention.<sup>28</sup>

Posed in terms of moral disarmament, intellectual co-operation drew increasingly on political inflections in the category 'intellectual'.<sup>29</sup> Both the SDN and the IFUW saw a key role for the 'expert' in creating the spirit of internationalism. In SDN publications the cultural authority of 'the intellectual' was portrayed in terms of disinterest, providing 'disinterested', 'scientized', 'objective' knowledge as part of the 'duty' of the 'intellectual' to promote 'the concord of minds, without which legal conventions for world peace would be both powerless and lifeless'.<sup>30</sup> As Director of the IIIC, Henri Bonnet, noted, 'disinterested knowledge' was to be put to political ends as 'the best means of opening 'an avenue to co-operation and peace in other fields of activity'.<sup>31</sup> Sentiments of this nature built on Henri-Louis Bergson's idea of an 'organ' for increasing the artistic, scientific, imaginative link between the nations, which Gilbert Murray noted the French called *spirituel* or *intellectuel*.<sup>32</sup> Such

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<sup>26</sup> For Zimmern, this necessitated a colonial structure grounded in human groups at different stages of civilisation, Morfield, *Covenants Without Swords*, 118, 130-2.

<sup>27</sup> Gildersleeve, "The Creation of the International Mind".

<sup>28</sup> "Moral Disarmament and Intellectual Cooperation", League of Nations, *Intellectual Cooperation Organisation, Information Bulletin*, vol.1, no.4, August-September 1932, 104-6, 132-8.

<sup>29</sup> Stefan Collini, *Absent Minds. Intellectuals in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 46-48.

<sup>30</sup> League of Nations, *International Intellectual Co-operation 1933* (Paris: IIIC, 1934), 4, 18, 19.

<sup>31</sup> Henri Bonnet, "Recent Developments in International Intellectual Co-operation", League of Nations, *Intellectual Cooperation Organisation, Information Bulletin*, vol.1, no.1, April 1932, 5.

<sup>32</sup> Gilbert Murray, "Intellectual Co-operation", *Annals of the American Academy*.

sentiments drew on politicised meanings of the 'intellectual' close to the role of the intellectual in France following the (1898) Dreyfus Affair, when intervention in the political became constitutive of the definition of the category 'intellectual'.<sup>33</sup>

Gildersleeve saw her own field of international work as the creation of the international mind through educational institutions and organisations. For Gildersleeve, the central agency for work of this sort was the ICIC at the SDN, through which 'the multitudes of organisations busily engaged throughout the world in developing the international mind should connect with the League'.<sup>34</sup>

### **Intellectual co-operation at the SDN**

The ICIC aimed to 'foster the international outlook' and promote 'collaboration between nations in all fields of intellectual effort in order to foster a spirit of international understanding as a means to the preservation of peace'.<sup>35</sup> Its three main purposes were to improve the material condition of intellectual workers which had deteriorated during the war; to build up international relations and contacts between teachers, artists, scientists, authors and members of other intellectual professions; and to strengthen the SDN's influence for peace.<sup>36</sup> Areas for study, research and exchange of views aimed to cement ties between cultural elites and to shape public opinion via popular culture. The remit of the ICIC covered international relations; international documentation (including archives, international property, translation indexes, international exchange of information about museum collections and the artistic field); folk arts and music; broadcasting and peace (including school broadcasting); the press; international student and tutor exchange, exchanges and travel for primary and secondary school children and international school

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<sup>33</sup> Pascal Ory and Jean Francois Sirinelli, *Les Intellectuels en France, de l'Affaire Dreyfus a nos jours* Paris: Armand Colin, 1986), 6.

<sup>34</sup> Gildersleeve, "The Creation of the International Mind".

<sup>35</sup> League of Nations, *Intellectual Cooperation in 1933*, 3-5.

<sup>36</sup> F.P.Walters, *A History of the League of Nations*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), 190-1.

correspondence; revision of school texts books; and instruction of young people in the aims of the SDN.<sup>37</sup>

The Secretariat's technical sections in the SDN, which provided administrative and technical expertise<sup>38</sup> proved important in a context where the border between technical and political issues was indistinct.<sup>39</sup> Susan Pedersen describes the SDN technical sections as 'more expansive, genuinely global, flexible, creative, and longer-lasting than its security or state building operations'.<sup>40</sup> Technical sections brought in non-members, so-called 'independent experts'<sup>41</sup> from a range of countries, selected for their ability to deal with particular international problems. Technical sections kept in close contact with voluntary organisations able to provide a range of information, drawing on a network of transnational communities of experts and informal networks of regional, national and international non-government organisations, charities, missionary societies and churches, operating below the level of the nation-state.<sup>42</sup> Both experts and organisations in civic society were envisaged as playing a role in creating in the SDN what Alfred Zimmern referred to as '*a point of convergence between Knowledge and Power*'.<sup>43</sup> From 1924 voluntary organisations were brought together in the Liaison Committee of Major International Organisations founded in 1924, which brought together international educational and women's organisations whose goal was education for humanity and international understanding.<sup>44</sup> By 1934, Twenty-nine international organisations were collaborating with the Liaison Committee, including the IFUW.<sup>45</sup>

### **Women and international intellectual co-operation at the SDN**

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<sup>37</sup> League of Nations, *Intellectual Cooperation in 1933*, 168.

<sup>38</sup> Patricia Clavin and Jes-Wilhelm Wessels, "Transnationalism and the League of Nations: Understanding the Work of Its Economic and Financial Organisation", *Contemporary European History* 14, no 4 (2005): 465-492, here 473-4.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 466.

<sup>40</sup> Susan Pedersen, "Review Essay. Back to the League of Nations", *American Historical Review* October (2007): 1091-1117, here 1110.

<sup>41</sup> Clavin and Wessels, "Transnationalism and the League of Nations", 472.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 474; Barbara Metzger, "Towards an International Human Rights Regime during the Inter-War Years: The League of Nations' Combat of Traffic in Women and Children", in Grant, Levine and Trentmann, *Beyond Sovereignty*, 54, 62.

<sup>43</sup> Zimmern, *The League of Nations and the Rule of Law, 1918-1935*, 319. Italics in original.

<sup>44</sup> Eckhardt Fuchs, "The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organisations in the 1920s," *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no.2 (2007): 207.

Between 1922 and 1939 there were only five women members out of a total of 51 members of the ICIC.<sup>46</sup>

Kristine Bonnevie	Norway	1922	1930
Marie Curie	France/Poland	1922	1933
Cecile de Tormay	Hungary	1935	1936
Ellen Gleditch	Norway	1939	
Victoria Ocampo	Argentina	1939	

Reflecting the importance of cultural authority to the status of 'the intellectual', ICIC members were selected for their intellectual distinction, not as representatives of countries.<sup>47</sup> Marie Curie-Sklodowska (1867-1934), Kristine Bonnevie (1872-1948), and Ellen Gleditch (1879-1968) were scientists with international careers. Curie-Sklodowska (France-Poland) double winner of the Nobel prize for physics and for chemistry, professor of physics at the University of Paris, and member of the Academie de Medicine (Paris), of the Polish Academy, of the Scientific Society of Warsaw, and of the Amsterdam and Stockholm Academies of Science, was vice chair of the ICIC, and member of the executive committee.<sup>48</sup> Bonnevie, substitute delegate to the SDN for Norway, was a zoologist and geneticist who had studied in Zurich, Wurzburg and at Columbia University New York (1906-07), was professor of zoology at Oslo University (1912-37), Norway's first female professor, and Norway's first female member of the Oslo Academy of Science.<sup>49</sup> Gleditsch, Norway's first researcher in radioactivity and Norway's second female professor, worked in Paris as Curie-Sklodowska's research assistant (1907-1912), researched at Harvard (1913-14), was associate professor in radiochemistry at the University of Kristiania (1916), and professor of inorganic chemistry (1929).<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> "Liaison Committee of the Major International Associations", League of Nations, *Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, Information Bulletin*, vol. 1, no.7, December 1932, 208-09.

<sup>46</sup> Jean-Jacques Renoliet, *L'Unesco oubliée, la Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle, 1919-1946* (Paris: Sorbonne, 2000), 184-85; for the position of women at the SDN see: Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women. The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 212-3; Sian Reynolds, *France Between the Wars: Gender and Politics* (London: Routledge, 1996), 186-7.

<sup>47</sup> Alfred Zimmermann, "The League and Intellectual Co-operation", in *The Problems of Peace*, 144.

<sup>48</sup> League of Nations, *The League of Nations and International Co-operation*, 8.

<sup>49</sup> League of Nations. *The League of Nations and International Co-operation*, 8;  
<http://www.whoamedit.com/doctor.cfm/1753.html> [accessed 18 April 2010].

<sup>50</sup> For Gleditsch see Annette Lykknes, Helge Kragh, and Lise Kvittingen. "Ellen Gleditsch: Pioneer Woman in Radiochemistry." *Physics in Perspective*. Vol.6 (2004): 126-155.



The two other women ICIC members were literary figures. Cecile de Tormay (Hungary)(1876-1937) won the grand prize of the Hungarian Academy for her book *La Vielle Maison* (published 1914).<sup>51</sup> Victoria Ocampo (Argentina)(1890-1979),<sup>52</sup> from a rich and aristocratic family. Without formal qualifications, she attended the Sorbonne briefly, was fluent in French and English, and established the key Latin American literary magazine, *Sur* (1931). Essayist in her own right and cultural patron in Buenos Aires, her literary network of writers, artists and intellectuals in Paris and London included Virginia Woolf and Rabindranath Tagore.<sup>53</sup>

Women on the SND expert committees that advised the ICIC were few.<sup>54</sup> In 1933 they included the Polish Cezaria Anna Badouin de Courenay Ehrenkreutz (1885-1967) (International Sub-Committee for Folk Arts), art historian and anthropologist, and pioneer of ethnology in Poland and of phenomenological approaches to the study of folk culture. She was professor of ethnography and ethnology at the Universities of Vilnia (1927) and Warsaw (1935).<sup>55</sup> Romanian writer Helene Vacaresco (1866-1958) (Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters) was an executive member of the Romanian League of Nations Society. Laura Dreyfus Barney (1879-1974) (Sub-Committee to Familiarise Young People in the Principles and Work of the SDN),<sup>56</sup> an expatriate American living in Paris who represented France, was a leading American Bahai teacher, and played an important role in the SDN's work to revise school textbooks.<sup>57</sup> The ad hoc committee on Moral Disarmament included the British Margery Corbett Ashby (1882-1981), the Canadian Winnifred Kydd (Dean of Queen's University), and the American Mary Woolley (1863-1947) (President of Mount Holyoke College).<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> [http://64.233.179.104/translate\\_c?hl=en&sl=fr&u=http://www.viviane-hamy.fr/fiche-....](http://64.233.179.104/translate_c?hl=en&sl=fr&u=http://www.viviane-hamy.fr/fiche-....) [accessed 18 April 2010].

<sup>52</sup> League of Nations. *The League of Nations and International Co-operation*. 12.

<sup>53</sup> For Ocampo see: Doris Meyer, *Victoria Ocampo. Against the Wind and the Tide* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 152-4, 156.

<sup>54</sup> League of Nations, *The League of Nations and International Co-operation*, 8.

<sup>55</sup> Obituary, Dr Andrew Ehrenkreutz, 1921-2008' *Kopernicana*, University of Michigan, 2008  
<http://www.i.umich.edu/UMICH/crees/Home/About/Newsletters/Kopernicana08.pdf> [downloaded 14 May 2010].

<sup>56</sup> Coombe Tennant, W. "Women and the League of Nations." In *The Woman's Year Book 1923-24*, edited by E. Gates (London: Women Publishers Ltd.), 1924: 141.

<sup>57</sup> Storr, "Thinking Women", in Aiston, Spence and Mickle, *Women, Education and Agency*, 168-87.

<sup>58</sup> For teachers' ire at Corbett Ashby's statements on Moral Disarmament, see "Moral Disarmament", *Educational Survey*, vol.111, no.2 (1932): 42-5; vol.1V, no.1 (1933): 116-7; vol.IV, no.2 (1933): 170-178.

### The SDN and International Women's Organisations

Women engaged with the ICIC were often linked into dense networks of international women's organisations, exemplifying Zimmern's belief that civic society formed the site of active citizenship.<sup>59</sup> From 1918 to her death in 1937, de Tormay presided over the Hungarian National Women's Union, which united the moderate, conservative women's organisations in Hungary.<sup>60</sup> Ocampo helped found the Argentine Women's Union in order to publicly counter threats to women's civil rights in Argentina from 1936.<sup>61</sup> Dreyfus Barney was president of the Peace Section of the International Council of Women [ICW] (from 1936 – and vice president from 1927-1946), president of the ICW's section on the Cinema and Broadcasting (1927-1936), and vice president of the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organisations.<sup>62</sup> Kydd, president of the Canadian National Council of Women, chaired the ICW's Education Committee from 1936;<sup>63</sup> Woolley was president of the American Association of University Women (AAUW) (1927-33);<sup>64</sup> and Corbett Ashby, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance [IWSA] (1923-46), was a member of the IFUW.<sup>65</sup>

Bonnevie and Gleditsch were founder members and presidents of the Norwegian Federation of University Women.<sup>66</sup> Curie-Sklodowska was a member of *l'Association des Françaises Diplômées Des Universités* and the AAUW supported her financial quest for the radium needed to continue her work.<sup>67</sup> Bonnevie and Gleditsch were linked through the IFUW to the Finnish Amni Hallsten-Kallia

<sup>59</sup> Zimmern, *The League of Nations and the Rule of Law*, 319.

<sup>60</sup> Information included in Susan Zimmerman and Claudia Papp. "Apponyi, Countess, Mrs Count Albert Apponyi, born Countess Clotilde, Klotild Dietrichsetein-Mensdorff-Pouilly (1867-1842)." In *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms. Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, edited by Francisa de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova and Anna Loutfi (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006): 26.

<sup>61</sup> Meyer, *Ocampo*, 178-9.

<sup>62</sup> ICW, *Programme de L'Assemblée Generale du Conseil International des Femmes, Edimbourg, Ecosse, 11-21 Julliet, 1938*, 41

<sup>63</sup> Laura Dreyfus Barney, *Women in a Changing World. The Dynamic Story of the International Council of Women since 1888* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 168.

<sup>64</sup> Susan Levine, *Degrees of Equality. The American Association of University Women and the Challenge of Twentieth-Century Feminism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), 213.

<sup>65</sup> Arnold Whittick, *Woman into Citizen* (London: Atheneum, 1979), 71.

<sup>66</sup> IFUW, "Report of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation", IFUW, *Fourth Conference, Amsterdam, 1926*, 97.

<sup>67</sup> *Bulletin de l'Association des Françaises Diplômées Des Universités*, April 1933.

(1897-?) in the Intellectual Cooperation Section of the Secretariat of the SDN, who went on to chair the IFUW Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.

The IFUW, the ICW, the Women's International League Peace and Freedom were members of the SND Liaison Committee of Major International Associations from 1926/27 and the IWSA from 1931.<sup>68</sup> As organisations related to health, welfare and education increasingly joined the Liaison Committee, this opened a space for women's activity and agency, but also represented a discursive alignment of women with the educational and philanthropic discourse of moral disarmament that ran alongside issues of material disarmament. While a link was forged between the ICIC and the Political Committee of the Conference on Limitation and Reduction of Armaments, women were nonetheless sidelined on Commissions like Military and Naval Questions.

These dense transnational networks of associational life formed what Metzger terms a second layer of narrative hidden in the story of the SDN.<sup>69</sup> The following section uses the IFUW to illustrate ways in which their transnational networks facilitated women's engagement with SDN policy-making and activity.

### **The International Federation of University Women and International Intellectual Cooperation**

The IFUW Committee for Intellectual Cooperation was established in 1924 specifically to interact with the SDN.<sup>70</sup> Chaired by Marie-Louise Puech (with Gildersleeve as member), it fostered a two way flow of information with the SDN 'machinery' of intellectual co-operation.<sup>71</sup> The IFUW stressed

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<sup>68</sup> Comité d'Entente, Process-Verbal, 19 Février 1931, 8.

<sup>69</sup> Metzger, "Towards an International Human Rights Regime", 62.

<sup>70</sup> IFUW, *Report of Council Meeting, Brussels, 1925*, 37.

<sup>71</sup> Virginia Gildersleeve, "Report of the Third Conference, Preparatory Note", 1924, 3.

that the work of its national federations should be linked with that of national committees on intellectual co-operation and that national affiliates should do all they could to secure the appointment of women to national committees.<sup>72</sup> By 1932, national federations of University Women were represented on the national committees of intellectual co-operation in Austria, France, Germany, Holland, the Dutch Indies, Switzerland and the United States.<sup>73</sup>

Where women were concerned, the most important branch of the IFUW's work was the endowment of fellowships for travel and research in arts and sciences to redress the small number of international fellowships available to women in a situation of inequality in respect of research opportunities for postgraduate women.<sup>74</sup> Fellowships formed a key means in the IFUW to build knowledge of foreign nations and international affairs through personal contacts with other countries;<sup>75</sup> in ways that articulated with Gildersleeve's thoughts on the international mind. The IFUW also promoted the exchange of secondary school teachers,<sup>76</sup> and supported the proposal of the IIIC and the Liaison Committee for a travel card for intellectual workers to give access to public libraries, museums, archives etc. and institutions of a technical, scientific, literary or pedagogical nature.<sup>77</sup>

Key to international exchange for graduate women was the provision of suitable accommodation. In contrast to the Cité Universitaire of Paris, where hostels were constructed for particular nations,<sup>78</sup> the IFUW's accommodation for postgraduate women was developed on the club principle at Reid Hall in Paris and Crosby Hall in London. In other cities special accommodation was made available to IFUW members.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> IFUW, "Committee on Intellectual Co-operation", *Report of Council Meeting Brussels*, 1925, 38.

<sup>73</sup> IFUW, *Seventh Conference – Cracow*, 1936, 93.

<sup>74</sup> IFUW, "Committee on Intellectual Cooperation" and "Resolution – Intellectual Cooperation", both in *Twelfth Council Meeting, Madrid*, 1928, 95-6.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> 14 December 1925, "Report for the Conference of International University Organisations", League of Nations Geneva archive 13c/48104/4311.

<sup>77</sup> IFUW, "Committee on Intellectual Cooperation", *Twelfth Council Meeting, Madrid*, 1928, 3,2,33,35.

<sup>78</sup> Jehnie I. Reis, "Cultural Internationalism at the Cité Universitaire: International Education between the First and Second World Wars", *History of Education* 39(2) 2010, 144-173.

<sup>79</sup> "Meeting of Representatives of International Student Organisations", Minutes of the Fourth Meeting held on Friday 9 April 1926, League of Nations archive Geneva, ICIC Box r1017.

As far as the SDN was concerned, the main contribution of the IFUW to the SDN's agenda on interchange lay in their work on the equivalence of degrees. The IFUW's Committee on Standards ascertained the membership qualifications required by national associations before admitting a national association to membership. This interested the SDN because the equivalence of degrees and the exchange of University staff were related.<sup>80</sup> The IFUW work on equivalence figured in meetings of international student organisations convened by the ICIC's Universities Sub-Committee.<sup>81</sup> Here, discussion stressed the importance of assuring students that the foreign universities where they proposed to study granted degrees equivalent in value to the degrees of their own university.<sup>82</sup> The international student organisations sent a resolution to the Universities Sub-Committee of the ICIC recognising the contribution of the IFUW and urging the IFUW to work with the IIC to co-ordinate work on the equivalence of degrees.<sup>83</sup> Theodore Bosanquet, IFUW secretary and delegate to the SDN's meetings of international student organisations, rejected the idea that a private organisation like the IFUW should be responsible for the equivalence of degrees. Rather this work should be undertaken by the IIC, assisted by the IFUW.<sup>84</sup>

## Conclusion

The belief that civic society formed the site of democratic renewal and active citizenship, held by SDN activists like Zimmern, opened a space for women like Gildersleeve to engage in conversations around meanings of intellectual co-operation. Exemplified by IFUW activity, intellectual co-operation enabled international women's organisations to draw on their organisations and networks to engage with the SDN, albeit on unequal terms.

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<sup>80</sup> IFUW, "The Paris Conference", *Occasional Paper*, no. 1, September 1922 (London IFUW, 1922), 15; *Ibid.*, "Cooperation with the League of Nations", *Occasional Paper*, no. 2, April 1923 (London IFUW, 1923), 11.

<sup>81</sup> IFUW, "Report of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation", *Fourth Conference, Amsterdam 1926*, 98. This was considered too large an enterprise to be successfully carried out in 1926.

<sup>82</sup> IFUW, "Cooperation with the League of Nations".

<sup>83</sup> "Annex 2, Draft Resolution Concerning the Interchange of Students and the International Card Submitted by the Drafting Committee", Meeting of Representatives of International Students' Organisations, Minutes of the Second Meeting on Thursday April 8 1926", League of Nations archive Geneva, ICIC Box r1017. See also extract from "Report of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation in its 8<sup>th</sup> Session July 26-29" (A28) 13c/51901/43311 in 2/7 (Original in 13c52957/14297).

<sup>84</sup> Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, "Meeting of representatives of International Students Associations, 9 April, 1926, League of Nations archive Geneva ICIC, Box r1017.

The work of the IFUW around the equivalence of degrees, as it sought to facilitate interchange in a context in which academic women were disadvantaged, proved to be a key area in which the IFUW engaged with SDN policy-making while also advancing opportunities for women. Interpretations of the international mind as moral disarmament opened the field of intellectual co-operation to women in more explicitly political terms and equated to an increasingly political appropriation of the category 'intellectual' by women.

Narratives of women's engagement with intellectual co-operation are complex, however. The association of intellectual co-operation with cultural and moral discourse continued to sideline women from the power plays of materialist and technical conventions for the limitation and reduction of armaments and re-affirmed women's marginalised political positioning at the SDN. Furthermore, conceptual ideas about the potential for universality through reason, which underpinned both notions of the international mind and the practice of intellectual co-operation, obfuscated disparities of power enshrined in differences between groups. As Levine, demonstrates for the USA, vetting the level of qualifications formed one way in which the inclusions and exclusions in the cultural intelligentsia was sustained on the basis of class and race.<sup>85</sup> The development of an international attitude in the national mind legitimated the status quo through a psychological understanding of the differences between nations.<sup>86</sup> This bolstered understandings of empire and opened the arena of education to the civilising mission of the SDN's Mandates Commission as the more 'advanced' races took up the 'problem of the 'backward' races deemed to be in need of protection and education.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Exemplified by the very few black women members of the AAUW. Levine, *Degrees of Equality*, 107.

<sup>86</sup> Morefield, *Covenants Without Swords*, chapter 3; Akira, *Cultural Internationalism*, 62.

<sup>87</sup> Susan Pedersen, "Metaphors of the Schoolroom: Women Working the Mandates System of the League of Nations", *History Workshop Journal* 2008, 66, 188-207.